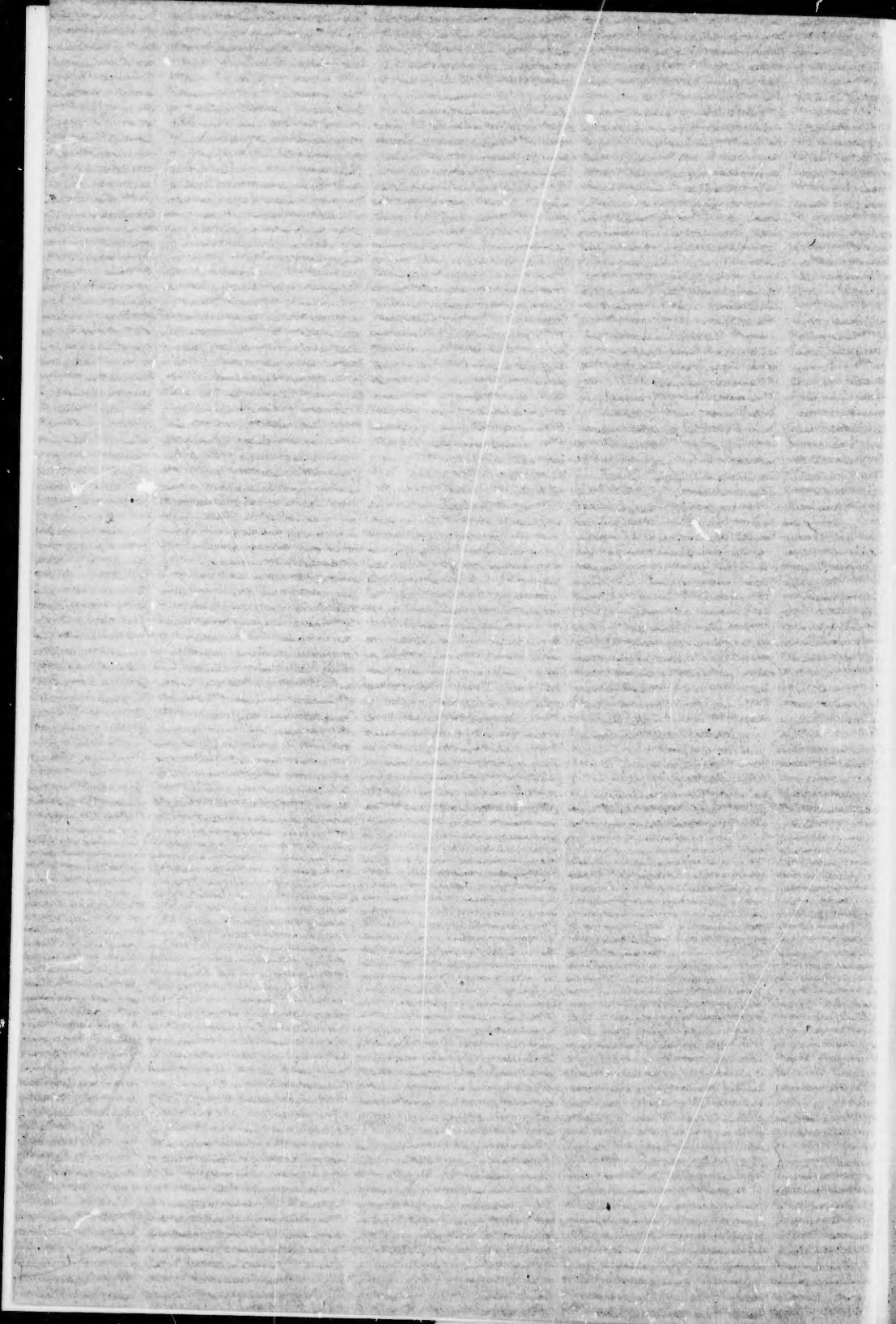


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THE
LOUISBOURG EXPEDITION
OF
1745.

EVERETT PEPPERRELL WHEELER.



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THE LOUISBOURG EXPEDITION
OF 1745.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED UPON THE KING'S BASTION OF
LOUISBOURG,

BEFORE THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS
AND THEIR GUESTS.

ON THE ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SURRENDER
OF THE FORTRESS, JUNE 17, 1745: AND AT

THE UNVEILING OF THE LOUISBOURG MONUMENT.

EVERETT PEPPERRELL WHEELER.

PHILADELPHIA:
THE HISTORICAL REGISTER PUBLISHING CO.
1895.

PREFATORY NOTE.

[This address is reprinted from the July number of THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REGISTER.]

In its preparation I read all the original documents, whether printed or manuscript, to which I could obtain access. The librarians of the New York State Library, of the Astor and Lenox Libraries, and of the Libraries of the New York Historical Society, and of the Massachusetts Historical Society, were both courteous and helpful, and I tender them my sincere thanks. I endeavored to sift and weigh the evidence, as I would prepare a case for argument. My conclusions differ, in some respects, from those of some historians. As to this, I can only say that I have taken nothing at second hand.

EVERETT P. WHEELER.

New York, July 1, 1895.

ADDRESS.

*Mr. Governor, Gentlemen of the Society of Colonial Wars and
Guests :*

Heaven smiles on our undertaking. The northwest wind has driven away the clouds and fogs of the past week. Under the blue Cape Breton sky we commemorate achievements that, in their ultimate result, gave to the two great North American Commonwealths their goodly heritage.

The Roman historian tells us that the leaders of his time used to say that when they looked on the statues of their ancestors, their souls were stirred with a passion of virtue. It was not the marble, nor the features that in themselves had force. But the memory of their noble deeds kindled a flame in the breasts of their descendants which could not be quenched until their actions had equaled the renown and worth of their fathers.

In like manner we dedicate this monument in a spirit of gratitude to God and noble emulation for the heroism of man. No narrow spirit of local self-gratulation has brought us hither. We are glad to recognize that British sailors and colonial soldiers shared in the difficulties and dangers of the siege whose successful issue we celebrate to-day. And we are swift to acknowledge the courage and endurance of the garrison, who, cut off from succor and short of provisions, offered brave resistance for seven weeks to the British fleet and the regiments of Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Connecticut.

In the Parliament of Quebec questions have been put to the government, indicating that the member who asked them thought that this monument was erected in the spirit of triumph over a fallen foe. To him I reply that we have not thus learned the lessons of history. This column points upward to the stars,

and away from the petty jealousies that man the earth. It will tell, we trust, to many generations, the story of the courage, heroic fortitude, and manly energy of those who fought behind the ramparts as well as of those who fought in the trenches. Some historians, it is true, have underrated the bravery of the defenders of the city, and even asserted that they surrendered before a breach was made in their walls, and when they might well have held out for months. The best answer to this is contained in an original document which gives the most authentic account of the siege: Governor Shirley's letter to the Duke of Newcastle. This was certified by Pepperrell himself and by Waldo, Moore, Lothrop and Gridley. It gives the following graphic description of the condition of the fortress when Du Chambon surrendered:

"And now, the Grand Battery being in our possession, the Island Battery (esteemed by the French the Palladium of Louisbourg) so much annoyed from the Lighthouse Battery, that they could not entertain hope of keeping it much longer; the enemy's northeast battery being damaged, and so much exposed to the fire from our advanced battery, that they could not stand to their guns; the circular battery ruined, and all its guns but three dismounted, whereby the Harbour was disarmed of all its principal batteries; the west gate of the city being demolished, and a breach made in the adjoining wall; the west flank of the King's Bastion almost ruined; and most of their other guns, which had been mounted during the time of the siege being silenced; all the houses and other buildings within the city (some of which were quite demolished) so damaged, that but one among them was left unhurt; the enemy extremely harrassed by their long confinement within their casemates, and other covered holds, and their stock of ammunition being almost exhausted, Mr. Du Chambon sent out a flag of truce.*

And now let me ask you to consider with me for a few

* This letter is in Series 7 of the Collection of pamphlets of the New York Historical Society. In the New York State Library and the Lenox Library it is bound in a separate volume. See also, for descriptions of the breaches effected in the walls, Gen. Roger Wolcott's Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg; Collections Conn. Hist. Soc. Vol. I, p. 133, and Pepperrell's letters of May 28 and June 18; Collections Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. I, pp. 35, 47; New York *Weekly Post-Boy*, July 1, 1745, and *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1745.

Wolcott (pp. 137, 138) gives Du Chambon's answer to the first summons to surrender. It is as follows:

"Le Roy de France, le nôtre, nous ayant confié la defense de la dite isle, nous ne pouvons qu' apres la plus vigoureuse attaque, écouter une semblable proposition, et nous n'avons de reponse à faire a cette demande que par la bouche de nos canons."

Wolcott adds that this was read to the army in English, and they answered "Huzzah, huzzah, huzzah."

moments what the Louisbourg expedition meant to the world of 1745.

Europe was then engaged in a selfish and ignoble war—in which the blood of the citizen was shed in a cause that had little more to commend it than the quarrel of pickpockets over their anticipated booty. The domains of Austria were the spoil that was fought for, and the only ruler on the continent who came out of it with honor was Maria Theresa. The troops of England gained little credit in the conflict. They cut their way through at Dettingen, but were driven back by Marshal Saxe at Fontenoy. So feeble was the flame of loyalty to the reigning Hanoverian prince, that an invading army of 6000 Highlanders marched to within 127 miles of London. Had their leaders not faltered, they would probably have placed Charles Stuart on the throne of his fathers. Such at any rate is Lord Mahon's conclusion. The King sent his treasure on board ship, and was ready to return to his favorite Hanover. The Duke of Newcastle seriously considered whether it were not wiser to give in his adhesion to the Stuarts. Cambridge dons planned a pleasure drive to see the Scots pass by.

To such an indifferent, time-serving people, the news of the capture of Louisbourg came like tidings of a miracle. No wonder they rang their bells and fired their cannon, and lighted up Cheapside and the Strand. Doubtless many a London burgher said to his wife that if Warren had commanded the Channel fleet or Pepperrell the troops on land, the French squadron would have been destroyed, and the Chevalier would never have crossed the Tweed.

Yes, Dryden might scoff at the religious ardor of the New England people, and exclaim:

" Truth is, our land with saints is so run o'er,
And every age produces such a store,
That now there's need of two New Englands more."

But they had within their breasts such a sense of the reality of eternal things that they cared little for the hardships of the present. "They endured, as seeing Him who is invisible." They might be zealots, but they were neither cowards nor marauders.

The men who stood in the trenches at Louisbourg or dragged their cannon across its morasses were the best men of their colonies. They came hither inspired by no greed for conquest. Their expedition was really a defensive one. Their commerce had been assailed, their frontier settlements ravaged by hostile Indians, their wives and children massacred or carried into captivity. Louisbourg was the harbor where the French privateers found refuge, and whence marauding expeditions sallied forth.* Its massive walls were twenty-five years in building. Time has dealt hardly with these, but their ruins still bear witness to what was called at the time, the Dunkirk of America. The harbor which they covered you behold before you, landlocked and secure from the storms of this rockbound coast. The Island Battery and the Grand Battery barred all hostile entrance. And the city had magazines from which all Canada might be supplied.

The immediate occasion of the Louisbourg expedition was an appeal for aid from Nova Scotia. In the archives of that province you will find a letter from Governor Mascarene (himself a descendant of the banished Huguenots) to Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts. It was written at Annapolis Royall, December, 1744. In this your Governor tells the story of the outbreak of war, "though no orders yet from home to proclaim it." The fort at Annapolis was ruinous; but immediately soldiers and civilians, English and French, set to work to repair it. The hostile Indians swarmed up to the glacis and set fire to the town. They were for a time dislodged by Artillery; but soon Duvivier, sent by the Governor of Louisbourg, appeared with a force of French and Indians, and summoned the fort to surrender. Reinforcements from Massachusetts opportunely arrived. The brave Mascarene refused to capitulate. But he felt that he could not hold the fort much longer without further

* Grahame (History of North America, Vol. 3, p. 265) says: "So many merchant vessels were captured and carried into Louisbourg in the course of this summer (1744) that it was expected that in the following year no branch of maritime trade would be pursued by the New England merchants, except under the protection of convoy." See also Prince's Sermon in the Old South on the Day of Thanksgiving for the Surrender, pp. 19-23. Letter, James Alexander to Cadwallader Colden, March 10, 1745, MS. N. Y. Hist. Soc.

aid, and wrote to Governor Shirley for succor. In the spring it came.

The honor of suggesting the Louisbourg expedition has been claimed by several. Probably the thought occurred to more than one. The New England people were ripe for the attempt. Their state of mind at the time is well described by Belknap, the historian of New Hampshire:*

"There are certain latent sparks in human nature which, by a collision of causes, are sometimes brought to light, and, when once excited, their operations are not easily controlled. In undertaking anything hazardous, there is a necessity for extraordinary vigor of mind and a degree of confidence and fortitude which shall raise us above the dread of danger and dispose us to run a risk which the cold maxims of prudence would forbid. The people of New England have at various times shown such an enthusiastic ardor, which has been excited by the example of their ancestors and their own exposed situation. It was never more apparent, and perhaps never more necessary, than on occasion of this expedition. Nor ought it to be forgotten that several circumstances, which did not depend on human foresight, greatly favored this undertaking."

The General Court of Massachusetts decided, on January 29, by a majority of one vote, to undertake the expedition. Immediately preparations were made with the utmost speed. Those who had opposed the plan, because of its danger, vied with its supporters in activity to promote its success. So unremitting was this activity, so ardent was the zeal of the colonists, that more men volunteered than could be accepted, and on March 24 the General gave his signal for sailing.†

It is not surprising that the enterprise should have aroused the enthusiasm of men like the colonists of that day. They were the most resolute and fearless of a resolute and fearless race. Religious zeal had led some to this country. Love of adventure had influenced others. They were inured to hardship by constant struggle with nature. They had built their own houses and their own ships, had cleared forests and ploughed fields.

The exigency of their situation had made them ready for any emergency. There were few factories in America, and the necessities of life were largely supplied by the industry of the hamlets. The embroidered waistcoats and purple coats of the

* Vol. II, p. 160.

† "Memoirs, Principal Transactions Late War" (Boston, 1758) p. 38. Dr. Chauncey's "Thanksgiving Day Sermon," p. 14.

gentry, as you see them in the portraits of Copley and Smybert, came from home, as England still was called. But the garments of the sailors and farmers, who battered down the walls of Louisbourg, were woven around their firesides in the long winter evenings. The modern subdivision of labor increases its productiveness, but diminishes the dexterity of the individual in any line but his own.

And then we must remember that the people of the thirteen colonies were a commercial and seafaring people. They dwelt in a narrow strip of land extending along the Atlantic coast. The boy's ambition was to go to sea. The American crew of the new American steamer, the *St. Louis*, a few days ago struck for higher wages. But in those days the captain often owned the ship, and every sailor expected to become a captain. Pepperrell's father commanded a ship before he owned one. The mariner hoped for advancement, not from fighting his owner, but from successful trade, or the capture of a Spanish galleon, laden with the silver of Potosi or of Mexico. Not only New York and Boston, but Salem and Marblehead, Portsmouth and Kittery, were thriving commercial towns. Indeed, in Pepperrell's day, Portsmouth and Kittery had as large a commerce as New York. Pepperrell himself owned a hundred vessels, and carried the cross of St. George to every port on the Atlantic and Mediterranean where colonial ships had entrance.

Two other characteristics of that America remains to be noticed—religious zeal and martial spirit. Grahame well describes the fervor of the former.

"The earnest expectation that pervaded New England was at once sustained and regulated by religious sentiment. Fasts and prayers implored the divine blessing on the enterprise; and the people and their rulers, having exhausted all the resources of human endeavor, and girded the choicest of them for battle, now sought to prepare their minds for either fortune, by diligent address to the great source of hope and consolation, and awaited the result with anxious and submissive awe, or with stern composure and confidence."

Candor compels me to admit that this zeal was often disfig-

* History of North America, Vol. III, p. 275. In General Wolcott's Journal of the Siege, after summing up the part taken by Shirley, Pepperrell and Warren, he adds: (p. 157). "But why do I speak of men; it is God has done it, and the praise belongs to him alone. God hearing the prayers of his people, by many signal instances of mercy, has led us on from step to step to victory."

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ured by bigotry and intolerance. These were the natural offspring of so-called religious wars. A man whose house had been burned over his head, and himself and children driven out into the snow to freeze or starve, naturally conceived rancor for the faith under whose nominal bidding his foes were acting. When we read the story of Tilly and the Thirty Years' War, we wonder that love and charity remained at all among men. It is hard for us to realize the intensity of religious animosity in those days. In our time bigotry still lingers, but only as Bunyan describes it in the *Pilgrims' Progress*—with palsied hand and toothless jaw, grinning at the pilgrims as they pass by. In 1745 it was a passion, in Canada and New England alike. The Chaplain of one of the regiments took a hatchet to cut down the Popish images, as he calls them. And Gibson in his interesting journal of the expedition, does not deign to speak of the French places of worship as churches, but styles them "Mass-houses," and evidently took a keen delight in making bon-fires of them.

Equally strong was the martial ardor of the time. Peace was transient, war frequent. Of this the literature and documents of those days afford countless illustrations. Let me draw your attention to one. In a memoir prepared in 1773 by the head of a noble French family, the Chevalier de Repentigny, he says:

"In 1632, my great-great-grandfather went to Canada, with the charge of accompanying families of his province, in order to establish that colony, in which he himself settled. Since that epoch we have furnished to the corps of troops which served there fifty officers of the same name, of which more than one-half has perished in the war; my father augmented the number of them in 1773; my grandfather was the eldest of twenty-three brothers, all in the service. One son alone remains of that numerous family."

Such cases were not uncommon either in Canada or the British colonies. With all their commercial spirit the colonists were a military people. They were warlike and hardy, though not familiar with the movements of disciplined armies.[†] Some

[†] U. S. v. Repentigny, 5 Wall., U. S. Rep. 228. Daniel Webster, in his oration before the Historical Society, was one of the first to draw attention to the law reports as containing materials for history.

[‡] In the *New England Historical Register*, Vol. XXII, p. 118, E. E. Bourne thus describes the Maine companies: "In the previous Indian wars, these men had been inured to danger of every kind, and their children did not lack the spirit and fortitude of their fathers. They could live on the poorest fare. Fighting had been the employment of a good portion of their lives, and they therefore readily embarked on this hazardous expedition."

relics of those days of conflict still remain to tell the story of anxious nights and watchful days. Block-houses that the colonists built for defense may still be seen in the neighborhood of York and Kittery. The custom that prevailed in New England, that the father should sit at the head of the pew, originated in the days when every man took his firelock to church, and was ready to turn out at a moment's notice to repel the attack of the savages.*

Thus have I tried to sketch the characteristics of the Americans of 1745. In times of peril such characteristics always find embodiment in a leader. It is common and easy to say that great men are but the expression of their time and lead it only in the sense that the spray leads the billow. That is but half the truth. When God gives to mankind the inestimable gift of a great man, he does, it is true, represent the spirit of his age. But he leads it, as the moon does the tides. Happy the people who appreciate such a man and are filled by his spirit, as the bay of Fundy in every creek and inlet is filled by the advancing flood. It was fortunate for the colonies that in the emergency of 1745 there was a leader whom they trusted, and who was wise enough to discard the visionary schemes of others; brave enough to face the veterans of France, intrenched behind the walls which the skill and experience of Vauban had planned, and self-sacrificing enough to leave home and business, and all that made life pleasant and sweet, to endure the hardship and peril of this expedition which Parkman calls "a mad scheme"—but which Pepperrell and his followers dared to undertake.

*The ballads of the time show that these characteristics were appreciated. Dawson's Historical Magazine, Vol. II, page 5, quotes a ballad about Governor Law, of Connecticut:

"Like Saracens, Saints soldiers make,
And prove their faith by fighting."

And some rude rhymes given in Caulkin's History of Norwich, p. 220, after describing to the tune of Yankee Doodle the prowess of Colonel Lothrop, one of the Louisbourg officers, and saying that he was "bold as Alexander," conclude:

"Colonel Lotrop, staunch and true,
Was never known to baulk it;
And when he was engaged in trade
He always filled his pocket."

I could not do justice to the occasion or the subject if I failed to speak for a moment of his remarkable career. He was a notable instance of the versatility and adaptiveness which the life of those days compelled. He was a successful merchant. He was a gallant soldier, accustomed from early youth to draw the sword in defense of his home and country. He had been in actual service against the Indians before he was twenty-one. It might have been said of him, as it was of Wolfe, that he,

"Where'er he fought,
Put so much of his heart into his act,
That his example had a magnet's force,
And all were swift to follow, whom all loved."

He was for twenty-nine years chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Maine. He was an active and conspicuous member of His Majesty's Council for the colony of Massachusetts. It is but just to him to add that his religion was not disfigured by bigotry or intolerance. It was an evident power in his life, but it always respected the religion of others.

And now let me return to the story of the expedition itself. I will not dwell upon its details. Representatives of societies from various States have spoken of what each colony did to promote its success. Massachusetts (which then included Maine) certainly did the most. She was the richest and most populous. But New Hampshire and Connecticut did much, and New York, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania came forward to aid, though no troops of theirs were in the trenches. A Rhode Island sloop of war rendered essential service.

When we remember how difficult communication between the colonies was at the time of which we are speaking, we shall wonder that they acted so much in concert—not that they did no more. The mails were infrequent—roads were poor. Oftentimes the travelers in a stage coach were obliged to get out and lift the wheels out of mud in which they sunk to the hubs. No one had even dreamed of railroad or electric telegraph. The wonderful power of steam was unknown. It will help us to realize the obstacles which beset any concerted action on the part of the colonies when we remember that even in the old mother country roads were so bad, and the transmission of intelligence so slow, that the Chevalier had been in Scotland nearly

three weeks before the news reached Edinburgh. The tidings of the surrender of Louisbourg did not reach Boston until July 3, sixteen days after the event, and were first known in New York a week later.

Such were the difficulties that our fathers had to face. Yet withal they had encouragement. Providence had favored their cause. The harvest of 1744 had been abundant, the winter was mild, the frontiers of New England had been unmolested, unexpected supplies arrived from Great Britain. The Grand Battery was not well fortified on the land side. The city had deprived itself of provisions to furnish the East India fleet and squadron for its recent voyage to France, and the *Vigilante*, which brought supplies, was captured by Warren.* The weather during the siege was generally fine. The colonial troops captured in the Grand Battery, and fished up at the careening basin the heavy cannon which they needed.

But all these would have availed nothing had it not been for the courage, the perseverance, the aptitude of the men who took advantage of these favoring circumstances, and brought their fleet of 100 vessels, with the little army of 4050 men, safely to Canseau. There to their great delight, on April 23, appeared Warren's squadron.† Thence they sailed to Louisbourg; on April 30, the troops landed, and after seven weeks of toil and peril, diversified, as we learn, when the soldiers were off duty, by games and sports, the fortress was theirs.

Their hardihood and daring are described in the words of

* Memoirs, Principal Transactions Late War (Boston, 1758), pp. 31, 32.

† This fleet was of essential service; not only in blockading the port, and thus cutting off supplies to the garrison, but in furnishing supplies to the besiegers. May 29, Warren writes to Pepperrell:

"It is very lucky that we can spare you some powder. I am told you had not a grain left." Again on June 6, Gen. Roger Wolcott writes in his Journal: "We found our ammunition so far spent that the orders were given to the batteries to cease firing." On the 8th they got a supply from the ships. (Connecticut Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. I, pp. 132, 133.

The fleet was sometimes, however, almost cut off from the shore by the fogs. Warren writes to Pepperrell, May 29 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, I, p. 37).

"I have been now three days in a fog, that I could not see the length of my ship nor one of my squadron. When that is the case I look upon myself to be as far from you as if I were at Boston."

one of the gallant French garrison as repeated by Gibson in the journal before mentioned :

" This gentleman, I say, told me that he had not had his clothes off his back, either by night or day, from the first commencement of the siege. He added, moreover, that in all the histories he had ever read, he never met with an instance of so bold and presumptuous an attempt ; that 'twas almost impracticable, as anyone could think, for only three or four thousand raw, undisciplined men to lay siege to such a strong, well-fortified city, such garrisons, batteries, etc. For should anyone have asked me, said he, what number of men would have been sufficient to have carried on that very enterprise, he should have answered not less than thirty thousand. To this he submitted that he never heard of or ever saw such courage and intrepidity in such a handful of men, who regarded neither shot nor bombs. But what was still more surprising than all the rest, he said, was this, namely, to see batteries raised in a night's time, and more particularly the Fascine battery, which was not five and twenty feet from the city wall ; and to see guns that were forty-two pounders dragged by the English from their grand battery, notwithstanding it was two miles distant, at least, and the road, too, very rough."

The tidings of the surrender were received throughout the colonies with the utmost enthusiasm. The contemporary accounts are too graphic not to be quoted :

" Now the churl and the niggard became generous, and even the poor forgot their poverty, and in the evening the whole town (Boston) appeared, as it were, in a blaze, almost every house being finely illuminated."

" At night the whole city (New York) was splendidly illuminated, and the greatest demonstration of joy appeared in every man's countenance upon hearing the good news."

* Gibson's " Journal of the Siege," p. 27.

Parkman (" Half a Century of Conquest," vol. II, p. 115) gives the name of the French officer who commanded the first French sortie as Morpain. Gibson says that his informant was this commander.

Sir Adams Archibald, in his very interesting paper on the " First Siege and Capture of Louisbourg " (" Royal Society of Canada," 1887, vol. V, p. 45), gives the name as Morpen.

† New York *Weekly Post Boy*, July 15, 1745.

In the same paper, a week later, the local poet thus gave expression to the general jubilation :

ON THE TAKING OF CAPE BRETON.

When glorious Anne Britannia's sceptre sway'd
And Lewis strove all Europe to invade,
Great Marlborough then, in Blenheim's hostile fields,
With Britain's sons, o'erthrew the Gallic shields.

The Western world and Pepp'rell now may claim
As equal honour and as lasting fame ;
And Warren's merit will in story last,
Till future ages have forgot the past.

There is a lesson in the recollection that the leader of the gallant band was the richest man in North America. He recognized the responsibility of his position and knew that wealth is a power which its possessor should use for the public good and not debase to his own selfish enjoyment. Horace, in one of his inimitable satires, which Pope has admirably reproduced in the dress of Marlborough's day, expresses the conviction that the rich man will leave to others the toils and dangers of war. He cries: "Let him take castles who has ne'er a groat." The councillor and merchant of 1745 was of a different mind. Let his example stand for our time and for all time, and remind our millionaires and landed proprietors of their duty and responsibility to their country and their fellow men.

And now, let us pause for a moment and ask what was the result of this expedition. Do its consequences merit a monument? At first sight, apparently not. The capture of Louisbourg is one of those historical events which was fruitful of great results, but which, for the most part, are slow in germination. Immediately it secured the codfishery to the colonists for three years; it cut the French fishermen off from the Banks for a like period; it destroyed the French Atlantic trade for 1745; it gave the English a prize which enabled them to buy back Madras at the treaty of Aix la Chapelle.* India was more valuable in the eyes of the Duke of Newcastle than all the Atlantic colonies.

But the remote consequences of this expedition far transcend in importance these immediate ones. It was a school of arms for the colonial troops. Gridley, who planned the parallels and trenches at Louisbourg, laid out also the fortifications of Bunker Hill. Pomroy, who was major in one of the Massachusetts regiments, and whose skill as a gunsmith stood him in good stead when he repaired the spiked cannon in the Grand Battery, rode, in 1775, from Northampton at the news of impending hostilities, strode across the neck at Bunker Hill, and was greeted by Putnam with words which express the temper of

* Bourinot, "Cape Breton and its Memorials of the French Régime," Publications Royal Society of Canada, 1891, Vol. IX, p. 226. This contains a most interesting account of the expedition. See also "Memoirs, Principal Transactions Late War," pp. 35, 52.

many a man in 1745, as well as thirty years after: "By God, Pomroy, you here! A cannon shot would waken you out of your grave!"

Its success showed the colonies their power and the necessity for their union. It showed them, too, that in the councils of Great Britain their affairs were of minor importance. This was a dreadful shock to the loyal love of the old home which then was general in the colonies. On the other hand, the capture of Louisbourg pointed out to William Pitt the possibility of the conquest of the whole of Canada, and paved the way for that.

In the next war Canada was conquered, and the English colonists freed from the fear of attack from their neighbor on the north. The expenses of this war and the consequent demands of the British exchequer, led the ministry to tax the colonies. America resisted, and the result was the American Revolution. By an extraordinary turn in the wheel of time, the French assisted the old English colonies to become an independent nation, while the old French colonies remained the property of Great Britain.

This Revolution marks an epoch in the history—not only of America, but of Europe. It was a natural evolution from the principles of Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act and the Bill of Rights. The Constitution of the United States translated these into a new form of government. The influence of this is to be seen to-day in the Constitution of Great Britain, of the Dominion of Canada, and of the republic of France. These great governments differ in many respects. Your own Dominion, with all its distinctness of administration, is a part of the British empire. But it is not too much to say that the distinctive principles of freedom, regulated by the sovereignty of law, which are embodied in the United States Constitution, are more dominant in Britain, in Canada and in France than if the thirteen colonies had remained subject to the British crown.

It is now one hundred and fifty years since the surrender of Louisbourg. It is one hundred and twelve years since the treaty of Paris recognized the independence of the United States and confirmed to Great Britain the possession of Canada. Surely the rancor of the old wars ought by this time to be burned com-

pletely out. Surely we can now agree that the development of these countries during all that time has been promoted by the result of those old wars. And despite, perhaps partly in consequence of the magnitude and costliness of the fleets and armies of to-day, we may believe that the ties of Christian faith, the links of mutual trade, the bands of friendship, the swift steamer, and the swifter electric current have bound us so closely together that English and French and American armies shall never more meet on the battlefield. We vie in the peaceful contests of art and science, and will settle the inevitable disputes by arbitration. There are social problems before us, as difficult of solution as any that have vexed the past. The very complication of the interlacing nerves of our modern civilization, which offers so many obstacles to war and binds nations over to keep the peace, is producing disorders and dangers within each State that require nicer surgery than that of the sword or the bayonet.

It is then with faces to the future that we dedicate this monument to the memory of all the brave men who fought and fell at Louisbourg, whether under the Cross of St. George or the Lilies of France. The morning sun will illumine its summit. The sunset ray will gild its massive and simple outline. The storms and fogs of Cape Breton will gather round it. In sunshine and storm alike, let it tell to all mankind that peace has her victories, no less renowned than war, that the courage and resolution of the fathers live in the hearts of their children, that we are prepared to face the conflict, the difficulties and the perils of the coming century in firm reliance upon the protecting care of the same God who was with our fathers and will be with all who are loyal to Him to the end of time.

APPENDIX.

Napier's remark upon the third siege of Badajos is applicable to that of Louisbourg. This "has so often been adduced in evidence, that not skill, but fortune, plumed his ambitious wing; a proceeding, indeed, most consonant to the nature of man, for it is hard to avow inferiority by attributing an action so stupendous to superior genius alone." *

The success of the English in the assault of Badajos justifies the conclusion that Pepperrell and Warren would have succeeded in the assault they planned on June 15. The garrison was not sufficient to man the entire fortifications, and, if troops enough were posted to defend the breach, there were places in the walls that would be left undefended and could be taken by escalade. This is precisely what happened at Badajos, in spite of a defense so skillful and brave that it immortalized Philippon, the governor.† In the case of Louisbourg, Pepperrell had the advantage of the fleet. Our own experience in the Civil War shows that Warren's ships could have run the gauntlet of the island battery and landed an attacking party on the harbor front, which was not fortified as strongly as the shore front, in which the breach had been effected.

In the preparations for the expedition nothing was left to chance. Pepperrell and Shirley had accurate information from returned prisoners of the small number of the garrison, the exposure of the Grand Battery to capture by a land attack, and the size of its cannon. These they expected to take, and took ammunition for them. They had no large vessels of war, but they had several small ones, which were able to cope with and drive off the frigate *Renommée*. They planned to increase their fleet by capturing and arming French vessels bound for Louisbourg. Their sailors were daring and hardy men, many of them old privateersmen.

In their council of war held April 18, 1745, before Warren's arrival, they decided to equip and arm the *St. Jean*, a vessel just

* Napier's "Peninsular War," Book XVI, Chap. VII.

† Napier's "Peninsular War," Book XVI, Chap. VI.

captured. * Another vessel was captured immediately after. With these additions to their fleet, the conclusion is at least probable that they could have captured the *Vigilante*, and kept up the blockade.

These remarks are not meant to detract from the merit of the British fleet. But they do show that the leaders of the expedition counted the cost, and planned for every emergency.

It is a curious illustration of the habits of the time that the first supplies of which the army ran short were "rum and molasses;" the favorite beverage, and a staple food of the period. The cargo of these captured in the *St. Jean* was appraised, the value awarded for prize money and the cargo itself taken for the use of the army.

I cannot forbear drawing attention to another curious fact in the history of the expedition. I have been told by a general who served in the Wilderness campaign, that after the first bloody repulse at Cold Harbor an order was given to renew the attack, but the soldiers, with one silent consent, would not obey, and General Grant withdrew the order. A similar occurrence is related in the records of the Louisbourg councils of war. It was decided to make an assault on May 9, before a breach was effected. The same day the council of war rescinded the order, owing to "a great dissatisfaction in many of the officers and soldiers at the designed attack of the town by storm this night."†

* MS. records, Siege of Louisbourg; Massachusetts Historical Society.

† MS. records, Councils of War; Massachusetts Historical Society.

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